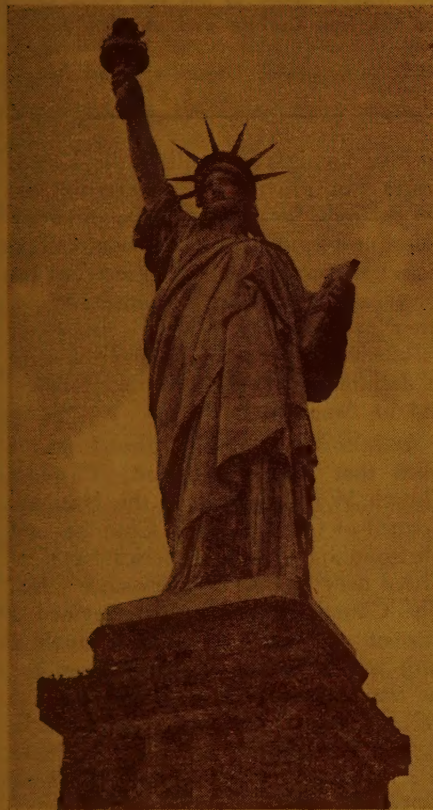


# Christian Community

A Program Service of the Council for Social Action of the  
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and the Commission on Christian Social Action of the  
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## Does She Still Say That?

"Give me your tired, your poor,  
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe  
free,  
The wretched refuse of your teeming  
shore,  
Send these, the homeless, tempest-tost  
to me.  
I lift my lamp beside the golden door!"

"The National Council of Churches would like to see the quota system made more flexible including the utilization of unfilled quotas . . . Once a ceiling on numbers has been fixed, we believe serious consideration should be given to establishing a system of immigration priorities which would facilitate family reunion, provide skills needed in our country, and offer asylum to persecuted victims of totalitarian regimes."

—Walter W. Van Kirk for the  
National Council of Churches

## WHAT OF THE REFUGEES?

by Roland Elliott

On the international front, America's attitude toward refugees may be our greatest single moral challenge of 1953.

The historical factors I outline below are not chance developments. They represent a fundamental trend in our basic philosophy regarding the foreigner, the oppressed, and the future role of America in world affairs. This is a question of immediate concern to the Christian forces in this country.

Most other international issues are admixtures of questions involving national security, of economic self interest, of how best to build an effective defense of what broadly—and sometimes all too loosely—we call the "free world." But within the United Nations there is no moral issue more at the heart of future international cooperation than this: *whether the associated nations are willing and able to deal constructively and humanely with the millions of peoples uprooted by the past, present and future clashes of political ideologies in this on-going struggle toward a new foundation for world stability.*

### American Immigration Policy

Let us look at the facts first in the U.S.A. and second in the United Nations:

The traditional position of the U.S.A. as the haven of the oppressed, as the country built on free immigration, has undergone radical changes; we now can see the results of the restrictive U. S. immigration legislation of the 1920s. Whereas in the period 1900-1920 14,531,297 immigrants came to this country, in the next two decades only

4,635,640 immigrants were received. Some fair system of control of immigration, of course, is necessary as is the limiting of numbers under a ceiling representing a reasonable number capable of assimilation in any one year. It is significant, however, to note that in the last thirty years a long step toward a fundamental change of our national immigration policy has been taken. The next steps came in the 1940s and in 1950 with the tightening of restrictions to screen out security risks, persons with previous totalitarian affiliation and those liable to become a public charge. Finally, with the McCarran Act the tables were completely turned so as to restrict immigration practically to relatives of U. S. citizens and to persons with specific skills not available in the U.S.A. Thus now we have witnessed a complete reversal in our national attitude toward immigration—first one of welcoming immigration—then restricting immigration—then more highly restricting immigration—to what now is predominantly an *exclusionary and negative system*. Its underlying philosophy is dangerously akin to the theories of a superior race.

Paralleling these more recent changes in U. S. immigration policy is our action within the United Nations. First, by cutting off support, the U. S. helped terminate the International Refugee Organization of the United Nations. I.R.O. had resettled and cared for roughly one million persons, but its job was not finished; in fact the number of escapees and other refugees was actually in-

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## What of the Refugees?

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creasing as I.R.O. demobilized. To preserve the I.R.O. fleet of ships, the U. S. then took the lead in forming the Inter-governmental Committee for European Migration—be it noted—*outside* the United Nations. Further the State Department, using Mutual Security funds, initiated the President's Escapee Program (PEP) to provide supplementary services for a highly restricting group (e.g. no Serbian escapees!) PEP, however, provided no additional visas for U. S. Immigration. While participating in the creation of the office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the U.S.A. has insisted that his functions are only to give legal protection and not care, maintenance or resettlement services. The U.S.A. representatives reluctantly voted in favor of an exceptional permission to the H.C.R. to raise an emergency fund of \$3,000,000 for the most needy groups of refugees, (e.g. for 10,000 Europeans facing starvation in China) but no U.S.A. contribution to this fund has been made or recommended.

Thus, the previous authorizations and the resources of the United Nations have been curtailed at the very moment the refugee problem, as a continuing and crucial political and humanitarian challenge to mankind, is increasingly acute.

### The Scope of the Problem

The numerical dimensions of the refugee problem can be quickly stated:

Some 30-60 million people in the world are in movement—are uprooted—are refugees—are trying to find a place to reestablish themselves and their families. The refugee population in Western Europe is somewhat greater than the total population of Canada (approx. 13,800,000). There are 20,000 refugees in Greece, nearly a half-million repatriates in Italy, 380,000 refugees in Turkey, 850,000 Arab refugees in the Middle East, 10,000 European refugees in China, plus a half-million destitute Chinese refugees from the main land on HongKong, 8,000,000 Hindus from

"The National Council of Churches believes that the Immigration and Naturalization Law of 1952 does not establish a system of fair hearings and appeals respecting the issuance of visas and deportation proceedings. While recognizing the necessity of reasonable safeguards against the infiltration of subversive individuals, we believe such safeguards can be established without investing immigration officials and consular officials with the extraordinary powers accorded them under the McCarran-Walter Act. It is our belief that admission to and deportation from the United States are matters that should be subject to a fair and uniform review procedure.

"Pending revision of the Immigration and Naturalization Law of 1952 the National Council of Churches is prepared to support emergency legislation of a limited character. As recommended by the National Council of Churches such legislation should provide for the admission to the United States of our fair share of refugees, expellees and escapees from behind the Iron Curtain and of such displaced persons as are awaiting resettlement."

—Walter W. Van Kirk on behalf of the National Council of Churches

Pakistan in India, 5,000,000 Moslems from India in Pakistan. Through Berlin and the "Iron Curtain" from 500 to 1000 a day are added in Europe even though barbed wire stretches from the Baltic Sea to Austria. You can add to all this the unknown numbers of refugees in Korea and other parts of the far East.

For America, one fact about the new refugee problem needs emphasis. More and more the new refugees are those displaced by their own volition, they are being *self propelled* from tyranny and oppression toward freedom and hope. Leaving all behind they set forth on a strange hazardous journey that must concern us as Americans and as Christians. As Elfan Rees of the World Council of Churches puts it: the alternatives for refugees after they leave their homelands are (1) assimilation, (2) migration, (3) starvation. Most of the refugees will have to find their futures in the lands of their present sanctuary. Many must migrate. The "or elseness" of the situation for many (e.g. those in China) is starvation. The alternatives are as simple as that.

### What Is Our Answer?

The progressive resolution of the problem is equally simple. It depends, in the world of practical politics and economics, on the reassertion by America of its historic humanitarian concern for the oppressed. This is now an international problem—as permanent as the problems of justice and health. Through the United Nations and by the reestablishment of a reasonable, controlled but

positive immigration policy, the United States can provide the leadership and the example for solving this most acute moral problem of our generation. Otherwise, its example may set a precedent for the abandonment of responsibility by other nations. *The Church's voice*—or its silence—may well be determinative in deciding the destiny of the refugees, and of America.

And, fortunately, the Church has a voice that has been heard. Through Church World Service of the National Council of Churches local Churches and Christian sponsors in America have resettled over 62,000 refugees since 1948. The Church of Christ has provided a way of salvation not only through a faith and fellowship adequate even for the wandering refugee; it has been as well the friendly Christian hand reaching across the sea to welcome the refugee to a new home of opportunity and hope in America.

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Roland Elliott is Director of Immigration Services for the Central Department of Church World Service of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. In sending CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY the accompanying article he wrote, "It would have been easier to have written for you an article with more 'human interest' . . . I couldn't do both so I have written what I trust may be the kind of 'call to action' into which your readers themselves will read all the Christian meaning that lies behind and around and . . . before the analysis I am sending to you."

The quotations from Walter Van Kirk, Executive Director of the Department of International Justice and Goodwill of the National Council, are part of a statement submitted by him to the President's Commission on Immigration and Naturalization, October 28, 1952.



## International Relations

### Letter

January 15, 1953

A little off the subject for a moment, I would like to recommend a great book. Ralph Barton Perry, Harvard philosopher, published his "Puritanism and Democracy" in 1945. I read it then and have recently been going through it again. Highly readable despite its careful scholarship, no book of my acquaintance gives one a better background for understanding the meaning of individualism, in either its Christian or secular variety. Incidentally, it seems accurate to say that the New Testament does not support "individualism." The Christian word is "personal worth." "Individualism" has too many 17th and 18th century economic connotations to make it possible to say that it is derived from the Bible. Christians can believe in "personal worth" without reservations; "individualism," as it has been understood in modern times, needs—not rejection—but Christian criticism.

And then there is that remarkable January 5th edition of *Life*. Especially the article, "What Have We Got Here?" by Frederick Lewis Allen. The subtitle reads: "Answer: a dynamic new economic system which has safely bypassed socialism." This seems an accurate statement. The old debate, "Capitalism vs. Socialism," is out-of-date, at least in the U. S. (If McPeck chides me for getting over into his field in the above, readers of his "Labor Letter" will have observed that he frequently offers opinions on international relations. And that's all right with me. You can't draw strict lines.)

To go on to the international area, here's a quote from the Allen article: "A major factor in our new prosperity is that we are constantly redistributing the national income into the pockets of the less prosperous. Just as the ably managed business concern plows part of its earnings back into improvements to the property, so our economic system plows back part of its earnings into making potential customers who form-

erly couldn't afford to buy much." Might that procedure not apply to rich and poor nations? If the U. S. plowed more of its earnings back into improvements in the underdeveloped countries, which now cannot afford to buy much, wouldn't that help the prosperity of all of us, just as plowing back money into the pockets of U. S. consumers makes everybody in the U. S. better off? (Plowing things back into a pocket makes a funny picture, but the idea is sound.)

Marion B. Folsom, treasurer of Eastman Kodak and Under Secretary of the Treasury in the Eisenhower cabinet, has written a 19-page booklet on "The Economic Situation in Western Europe" which deserves to be read by everyone who thinks, talks, writes on world affairs. It is especially recommended to ministers and other Christian leaders, who may not wish to use Folsom's facts directly but whose talk about "understanding" and "peace" and "cooperation" needs to be informed by the factual sort of stuff he gives us. It isn't dull either, despite its sober factualness. Good, also, to put in the hands of Americans who chafe under the necessity of international cooperation and would like to have another try at going it alone. Order from the Committee For Economic Development, 444 Madison Ave., New York 22, N. Y. It seems to be free.

For \$1 you can have, nine times a year, the very excellent four-page *Bulletin* published by the People's Section of the American Association for the United Nations, 45 E. 65th St., N. Y. 21, N. Y. I have before me the November issue on "What Should the U. S. Policy Be On the Tunisian Question?" Three and a half pages of simple, accurate exposition of the facts in the case. Then five questions that will help you or your group to reach your own opinions. No exaggeration: in 5 minutes you can have a pretty clear idea of what the vexatious problem is all about.

Every state and local social action committee should have copies of the new CSA "Tool Chest." No matter how long you have worked at social action,

this will give you some new ideas—ideas that can be used. 25 cents from the CSA.

It's good to know that the volume of visitor traffic to the U. N. is so great that groups now have to make reservations six months in advance. One or two persons still stand a good chance of getting in almost any day but the CSA office knows from painful experience that eager groups have to be turned down by the dozen. So, if you want to come in June, write now to Mrs. Frances Reissig, 289 etc.

### Short Point 4 Definition

Point 4 means "technical missionaries" at work—more than 1300 agricultural, health, education and resource development specialists in 35 countries—working with the people—at the request of the host nation . . . it means helping people who want to progress through their own efforts, using their own resources. This far-reaching, self-help program also brings hundreds of technicians from Point 4 countries to the U. S. each year for advanced training at universities, hospitals, and in industries across the land . . . Did you know that CSA director, Harry Drobish of California, has been in Jordan since last summer helping Jordan olive growers to do a better job at growing, harvesting and marketing? We're proud of Harry. And if I read his letters accurately he — having seen Point 4 at work—is now a fervent champion of the program. Add these facts: In fiscal year 1953 Point 4 is spending about 139 million dollars for individual country programs—in addition to contributing 9 millions to Technical Assistance programs of the U. N. and the Organization of American States. The whole program is still much too small and more of it ought to go through the U. N., but it's one of the finest things happening in our world.

### Foresight, Please! Not Hindsight!

Dr. Laubach says India has a fifty-fifty chance of going communist in the next elections (1957). The American government and American business can do much to prevent the awful possibility by giving all possible support to the magnificent improvement programs being pushed by the Indian government. A few millions spent now might be worth a few billions and much else besides money, later on. Watch for legislation in Congress providing more help for India.

Herman F. Reissig



## Speaking of Books

The editor of *Christian Community* has often been asked to "recommend a book that will tell how one goes about developing a program of Christian social action in the local church." The answer has usually been an assortment of manuals, pamphlets, and memoranda. Since Dr. Harvey Seifert, professor of Christian ethics in the Graduate School of Religion of the University of Southern California at Los Angeles, has produced *The Church in Community Action* (Abingdon-Cokesbury, \$2.75), the answer is simpler. It is now possible to recommend "a book" which indicates how a church proceeds to discover areas of action (complete with an outline for surveying the community), to develop leadership, to organize for action. There are chapters on dealing with economic and political relations, on techniques of social education, and even one on meeting opposition creatively. This is a long needed and highly useful guide for the church that means business.

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For a switch from program to analysis and interpretation of basic issues, even the minister or layman away from the campus can do much worse than use in personal or group study *The Christian Student and the World Struggle*, edited by J. Robert Nelson and published by the Association Press for the Study Department of the United Student Christian Council. Realistic both in *distinguishing* the Christian position from points of view commonly held by modern Americans and in *relating* our Gospel to the issues which are being fought out in our actual world, it raises questions that will lift the level of discussion in the average youth department, adult or young adult class, or men's group.

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If you are one of those who still believe that Russia is all that stands between mankind and a stable peace, that the United States can run the world benevolently as it sees fit, that America can preserve freedom by backing any anti-Communist anywhere no matter how reactionary, or that the United Nations can do its job on small yearly

appropriations—you better read *Citizens of the World* by Stringfellow Barr (Doubleday, \$3).

That Supreme Court Justice William Douglas has written a preface is itself warrant that the book merits attention. If Mr. Barr sometimes seems to underestimate the importance of military action such as resisted aggression in Korea, he is nonetheless right in insisting that hunger, poverty and disease are a graver threat to peace than the Kremlin and that we can ill defer a large-scale program of economic development in underdeveloped areas. As best suited to carry out the latter operation he favors an International Development Authority—permanent, adequately financed, standing above nationalistic fears or ambitions.

Like the author's earlier pamphlet, *Let's Join the Human Race*, this book should be widely circulated as a "tract for the times," helping Americans to understand the revolution of our day lest the Communists capitalize on our obtuseness and timidity and take over more widely the revolt of mankind against empire and hunger.

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At the risk of encroaching even farther into Herman Reissig's preserve than he goes into Francis McPeck's, we call attention to two pamphlets. One is a summary of the Woodrow Wilson Foundation Study Group Report published by the Public Affairs Committee for 25 cents under the title, *Strengthening Our Foreign Policy*. A group of experts here submit their recommendations having to do not with the substance of foreign policy so much as with the organization of government processes to make any policy more consistent and effective.

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The other is an attractively illustrated publication of our frequently abused State Department, *Together We are Strong* (U. S. Government Printing Office, 20 cents). It spells out in words and pictures about as well as can be done in forty pages some of the international economic facts of life that underscore St. Paul's impression that we are members one of another.

## CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY

Additional copies may be obtained for 2 cents each. Requests from Congregational Christians should be addressed to Council for Social Action, 289 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, New York. Requests by Evangelical and Reformed, and others, as well as news items and communications, should be addressed to the Editor, Huber F. Klemme, Commission on Christian Social Action, 2969 West 25th Street, Cleveland 13, Ohio.

## ACROSS THE DESK

Ray Gibbons, Director of the Council for Social Action, writes: "A number of people have inquired about the progress of the study of CSA conducted by the Board of Review. The Board had its first meeting in May and second in July, hearing presentations from those opposing and those favoring CSA. The meeting late in January will be one in which the committee determines its own program. It is anticipated there will be a report for study in the churches prior to the next meeting of the General Council."

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On the "E&R" side a number of people have been asking, "Where are you going?" Central Publishing House has by action of denominational officials been liquidated and the building in which we have had offices for eight years is being sold. At the present time negotiations with the purchaser are under way, and if mutually acceptable terms can be reached the Commission on Christian Social Action, together with the Women's Guild and the Commissions on Evangelism and Stewardship, will "stay put." If not, our constituency will be informed. Until further notice, therefore, continue writing to us at "2969."

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A number of stories have come since our November issue from individuals and groups reporting a rich experience in entertaining students and other nationals from abroad. A group in Delaware County, Ohio, who call themselves The Homesteaders, had a party at the farm of Lynn Rohrbough, of Cooperative Recreation Service fame. In another case, Turkish army officers, many accompanied by their wives and children, sent by their government for training at the State University of Iowa, were introduced to our language, shopping facilities, community organizations, and churches, through the initiative of the Iowa City Congregational Christian Church.